

VI. — FRENCH

Report of the Socialist Party

(French section of the workers' international party)

TO THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS

Since the Stuttgart congress the French section of the workers' international party has taken an always increasing share in the political and social events of the country in which it evolves.

Its efforts have endeavored to group within its frame an always increasing number of workers. To carry this out, the Party has organized always more and more methodically its propaganda work, which is done either by the Federation militants, within the geographical limits of their province, or by the delegates depending directly from the central organization, or, still, by the legislative representatives, the latter two throughout the country.

The Party has also endeavored in its successive annual congresses, of Toulouse in 1908, Saint-Etienne in 1909, and Nîmes in 1910, to precise the aims of Socialism and to define the best means which are at the disposal of the Proletariat to reach its goal.

It has also extended its activities in mixing more and more into the whole national life, in order to

direct towards the socialist ideal the confused movements of the masses, and to use all agitation, in the long run, for the cause of social emancipation.

These activities have had their echo in the Parliament where the Party's group, during the last legislature, while it expounded the antagonism of classes, defended step by step the workers' interests, and, according to the Amsterdam motion, endeavored to « perfect the social legislation and to make possible for the working class to fulfil its political and civilizing mission ».

This task, bravely undertaken, has not been a vain one. The proof of it is to be had in the great success obtained by the Party at the last general elections which almost makes it the arbiter of the situation in the Parliament, and gives all hopes as to its future development.

In 1906, at the Limoges congress, the last congress from which data could be obtained to make a report to the International bureau in prevision of the Stuttgart congress, the Party had 43,462 regular paying members. In 1907, at the Congress of Nancy, it increased to 48,237, to reach 49,348 the following year at the Congress of Toulouse. At the Saint-Etienne congress (1909) the national council's report showed 51,692 regular paying members and at the Congress of Nîmes, February 1910, it had reached 53,928.

Therefore, from the time of the Limoges congress, to that of the Nîmes congress, the Party has steadily grown and shows a gain of 10,466 members.

The progression, although perceptible, has perhaps been somewhat slow, but its steadfastness is encouraging, so much more so that from the most

certain appearances we know that this progression will from now onward considerably accelerate.

The party members are bunched into groups, which themselves form, by communes, local sections. These groups amount to about 2,500 and the locals to about 1,500. The locals are in turn connected with the departmental Federations, which are like many cells of the party, and which, like the central body, have a coordinate and impulsive organism.

Actually there are 82 departmental or regional federations, 80 of which are in the mother country and two in the colonies. That is to say, in other words, that practically there is no department which is not endowed with a political body with which to lead the fight against the different bourgeois parties.

In fine, these Federations themselves meet each year through their delegates in a general congress and every three months at the assemblies of the National council.

The National council and the General Congress are therefore the sovereign assemblies of the Party, in which all militants without exception expound their opinions and manifest their will.

During the interval of the meeting of these assemblies, the Party's business is attended to by a Permanent Administrative Commission of twenty-two members elected each year at the National Congress.

The budget of the Party (central body) has amounted to in 1909 :

Receipts	Francs. 128,894 40
Expenses	— 103,478 15

The receipts come from :

1. The membership fees collected by the central body on every member, namely 25 centimes for the annual membership card and 5 centimes for the monthly stamp stuck on the card.
2. The monthly contributions of 100 francs paid to the cash of the central body by each legislative representative, and that of 10 francs also paid monthly, by the Paris municipal councillors.
3. From the profits made on the Party's newspaper *Le Socialiste* and by the sales of the bookstore attached to the paper.

The expenses are brought on in part by the working of the Party's central services, and in part by the propaganda made by the central body in favor of the Federations.

To show in this respect the progress accomplished by the Party, it is well to recall that at the congress of Limoges (1906) the budget submitted by the central body was of:

Receipts	Francs.	59,751 75
Expenses	—	48,136 55

This, therefore, shows that the funds of the Party have more than doubled in three years time, and if we speak only of the receipts, we see that these will soon have trebled.

A thing essential to remark is that this budget is exclusively that of the central body—which excludes all private budgets of the Federations, of the groups and also of a number of various institutions, as well as these of the daily papers whether they are a part of our organization, or getting to be more closely connected with it.

It is difficult to give, even approximatively, eval-

uations on this subject. Nevertheless, it does not seem wreckless to state that the total budget of the Party amounts to at least ten times the special of the central body.

The parliamentary action of the Party has strenuously exerted itself during the course of the preceding legislature which has ended last March.

Our representatives have, during, three last years, intervened unceasingly and it may safely be said that there is not a single question whether interesting, the workers or even only relative to the general development of culture and the progress of civilization which has come before the Chamber of Deputies, and which has not been treated from the socialist point of view, opposed to the capitalist one.

Whether it has been argued about laws and measures relative to education, hygiene or workers' protection, they have ever answered present to the roll-call of all debates and of all controversies. Every time an opportunity has presented itself, and even by provoking these opportunities, our representatives have vigorously attacked militarism, navy expenses and colonialism. They have claimed boldly every time, a policy of peace and of reconciliation between nations, which would lead to a simultaneous disarmament, and have also asked for treaties lowering the customs barriers which would bring about an era of universal concord and prosperity.

Their effort has been more particularly conspicuous and energetic during the debates on the reform of martial courts, on the modification of the assessment of taxes characterized by the introduction of the income tax, on the establishment of an old people's pension fund, and finally on the question of prevention and indemnisation by a general

social insurance against all risks to which the worker is subjected under the capitalist regime.

They have also exerted themselves with no less eagerness, supported as they have by the whole party, to bring about a complete change in the electoral law, by substituting the uninominal vote by the vote on lists with proportional representation, thus giving to each party a parliamentary delegation corresponding to real forces and in that way moralizing as well as enlightening the universal suffrage.

The French electors have commended the consciousness and the valour of our parliamentary group, while, at the same time, the confidence in Socialism and the Party that impersonates it, has greatly increased since at the last recent general elections we have seen the number of socialist votes grow in a remarkable proportion, and the number of socialist deputies has relatively increased more.

At the general elections of May 1896, the Party had received 877,999 votes. This year it got 1,106,047 votes, namely an increase of 228,048 votes or 20 0/0.

At the general elections of May 1906, our Party elected 54 deputies. This year we had 76 — namely a gain of 22 seats. These seats are occupied by the citizens whose names follow, while the indication of their original profession :

Albert-Poulain, Mechanic; Aldy, Lawyer; Aubriot, Clerk; Barthe, Druggist; Basly, Miner; Bedouce, Clerk; Betoulle, Clerk; Bouhey-Allex, Viticulturist; Bouisson, Manufacturer; Bouveri, Miner; Brenier, Weaver; Breton, Engineer; Briquet, Lawyer; Brizon, Professor; Cabrol, Druggist; Cadenat, Shoemaker; Camelle, Merchant; Colly, Railroad clerk; Compère-Morel, Horticulturist; Dejeante,

Hatmaker; Delory, Weaver; Doizy, Doctor; Dubled, Ironworker; Ducarouge, Potter; Dufour, Merchant; Ch. Dumas, Lawyer; E. Dumas, Mechanic; Faure, Railroad employee; Fourment, Professor; Chesquière, Weaver; Goniaux, Miner; Gonde, Navy clerk; Groussier, Mechanical draughtsman; Guesde, Journalist; Jaurès, Professor; Lagrosillière, Lawyer; Lamendin, Miner; Lauche, Mechanic; Lavaud, Moulder; Lecoigne, Typographer; Lhoste, Typographer; Manus, Weaver; Marietton, Lawyer; Manger, Currier; Meslier, Doctor; Mille, Druggist; Mistral, Clerk; Molle, Lawyer; Myrens, Professor; Nectoux, Mechanic; Nicolas, Farmer; De la Porte, Journalist; Prévot, Professor; Quélin, Clerk; Raffin-Dugens, Teacher; Ringuier, Journalist; Roblin, Lawyer; Rognon, Sculptor; Rouanet, Journalist; Rouger, Viticulturist; Roux-Costadan, Teacher; Rozier, Clerk; Sabin, Farmer; Selle, Druggist; Sembat, Journalist; Tarboureich, Professor; Thivrier, Doctor; Thomas, Professor; Vaillant, Doctor; Veber, Professor; Vigne, Viticulturist; Voilin, Mechanic; Walter, Mechanical draughtsman; Willm, Lawyer.

These seats are distributed among the 32 following Federations, in the proportion as hereafter :

Aisne (1 representative); Allier, 4; Ardennes, 2; Aube, 1; Aude, 1; Aveyron, 1; Bouches-du-Rhône, 3; Cher, 3 Côte-d'Or, 1; Drôme, 1; Finistère, 1; Gard, 2; Garonne (Haute), 2; Gironde, 1; Hérault, 3; Indre, 1; Indre-et-Loire, 1; Isère, 3; Jura, 1; Martinique, 1; Nièvre, 1; Nord, 6; Pas-de-Calais, 4; Rhône, 3; Saône-et-Loire, 2; Seine, 18 (one of which, Comrade Chauvière has since passed away); Seine-et-Marne, 1; Sévres (Deux), 1; Somme, 1; Tarn, 2; Var, 2; Vienne (Haute), 1.

This rough enumeration suffices to underline the Party's penetrating power, which, at the present time, has elected representatives in every section of the country, north as well as south, in the great industrial and commercial centers as well as in the rural and agricultural centers. It is the conquest of the whole France throughout all her salaried elements, workers and peasants, that we are accomplishing.

The Party has no representatives in the Senat, but in this field of action, it has lately received in several departments, very important minorities, which leave us very hopeful for the near future.

The Party is represented in the cantonal councils, (conseils cantonaux) by 81 general councillors, and 63 arrondissements councillors.

At the present time there are in France more than 500 city halls where the Party has been able to have representatives and the number of municipal councillors amounts to about 3,800. If we have lost at the last municipal elections some important municipalities such as Brest, Toulouse and Dijon, we have gained others just as important: Nîmes, Calais and Montluçon, and the number of municipalities occupied entirely by Party members, has more than doubled.

The ascensional movement which has manifested itself by the increase of party paying members and by the votes gathered by our candidates, shows itself with no less strength in the development of the newspapers, either under the direction or under the control of the Federations, have taken.

To begin with the dailies.

Three federations own their paper, the circulation of which is extended on the neighbouring federations: the Haute-Garonne Federation with the « Midi Socialiste »; the Isère Federation with « Le

Droit du Peuple »; the Haute-Vienne Federation with « Le Populaire du Centre ». On the other hand « l'Humanité » can equally be considered from this moment as a Party paper. Indeed, the Party possesses in virtue of the by-laws the majority of the administrative council and its political director gets his executive power from the national congress.

The regional press is besides composed of two bi-weekly papers, four weeklies and three monthlies.

The Party does not possess, strictly speaking, any institution for the education of its members, for up to-day it has not established, as a Party, any institution of this kind, and it does not assume the direction of any of them. But, on the other hand, it has begun to greatly help many institutions of this kind, and it can safely be said, that many of these institutions which have been founded are growing under the protection of the Party. A good many groups possess children's clubs, where the children of party members, find education and recreation. Likewise, a good many groups of socialist youths are trying to enroll under their flag the adolescents and prepare them for their duty of future fighters for the working class. The Socialist Athletic and Sportive Federation is working in that direction. Many groups frequently give entertainments, concerts and theatrical parties.

They also organize excursions, in order that, with all these, they may further interest the members of the workers' family in the work undertaken by the Party. Often, for this purpose, our groups use the neighbouring cooperatives with which, in many localities, they hold the most fraternal relations, without however the existence any tendency from one side or the other to blend or to subordinate the one or the other,

These institutions are especially prosperous in the Federations of the Nord, Pas-de-Calais and Seine.

Lately, the Party in Paris has given special care to two institutions which it thinks to be of general usefulness.

L'Ecole Socialiste (The Socialist School) which opened in November 1909, in the building of l'Hôtel des Sociétés savantes, and which has drawn an unusual number of attentive auditors, and.

Le Grand Air (The Open Air) a vacation colony for Party members and their families, established this year at Pornic (Loire-Inférieure) in a splendid building which it owns.

And so, little by little, the French section of the workers' international party endeavors to cover with its activities the whole field of social life. While it greatly increases, as it should, its doctrinal propaganda, it likewise endeavors to stimulate and favor the institutions by which the Proletariat increases its power of extension and of struggle.

The Secretaries :

Louis DUBREUIL, Pierre RENAUDET,

Angèle ROUSSEL.

RESOLUTIONS

adopted for French Section at their Paris' Congress
the 15 and 16 August 1910

I. — Relations between the cooperative organizations and the political parties.

MAJORITY'S REPORT.

The Socialist Party, according to its previous statements, recalls that it recognizes the essential importance of the creation and development of the workers' organisms of struggle and collective organizations, and that as such it places cooperation among the number of the necessary elements of social transformation. It therefore admits that cooperation has proper value in the proletariat's general effort for education and organization.

Cooperation protects the workers in their efforts for subsistence against the unscrupulous avidity of burdensome agents. It offers likewise to the workers powerful means of action to better their living, working and fighting conditions, and it prepares them to become efficient for the heavy and complex task of collective administration.

Cooperation is so much more fertile in beneficial effects that carried on by its principle towards an illimited extension, its province is ever enlarged, so that by passing over individual groups it reaches the general federation of cooperative forces.

Therefore in directing towards this goal the power of consummation, the working class reaches the vital organs of the commercial parasitism and creates for itself, against the capitalist competition, vast and cer-

tain outlets for a production organized by itself. It also allows the workers to make important reserves in provision of economic crisis.

For the agricultural producers cooperation is a precious instrument of defense against speculation and technical progress, because it allows the purchasing and use in common of the working tools.

The Socialist Party which is the party of workers and of the social revolution, has therefore as such, the duty to favor the free development of the cooperatives. And it is up to the Party to show in its propaganda the irrefutable advantages of cooperation. However, while wishing to awake the workers' intuitions to the consciousness of their class interests and to communicate to them the emancipating thought of socialism, the party should, at the same time that it appeals to the workers to join the cooperatives, show them the limits the capitalist competition imposes on cooperation, so that once informed of the complex difficulties of the social struggle, the workers shall not neglect the unceasing effort needed by the syndical and political action.

The Socialist Party is for helping the workers and not to use the workers for its own benefit. The party therefore pledges itself to always help frater nally and vigorously the proletariat's organizations without asking any indemnity for its services. To place the workers under certain obligations would cause many dissensions in the cooperative organizations, which would finally have a deadly effect on the party itself. It would also cause the estrangement of many new recruits. The party does not prohibit receiving subsidies, freely given, for helping its own action, but this action would be lessened if the equilibrium of the party's budget should depend on the cooperatives' prosperity.

Therefore the party invites every militant socialist to give his help without restrictions to cooperation, for the party is certain to derive for itself a real great advantage for its members being protected against the

extorsions of the speculators and thus unburdened of some burdens of their existence, will be able to bring greater forces to the general struggle of the proletariat against capitalism.

MINORITY'S REPORT.

The cooperative association which is nothing but a form of our modern limited liability companies, has nothing by itself that makes it necessarily and compulsorily a class organization, such as, for instance, the syndical organization.

This form of association can be and is used, according to time and place, by all parties for the interest of their propaganda and action.

Its value for each party depends upon the use which is made of it.

The workers spurred by the desire to better their living conditions by lowering the cost of living, have they also formed cooperative associations — mostly consuming cooperatives — in which the workers and wage earners are in great majority.

On the other hand, the creation of either consuming or producing cooperatives, in the branches of industry where a big capital is not necessary, has permitted to some working organizations to shelter from capitalist persecution some of their militants, insuring them a livelihood as well as a useful occupation.

In the cooperative association, the worker may learn to see partially what a collective society would be like — namely a society in which the antagonisms of the present social order between buyers and sellers and between capital and labor being suppressed everybody would work and produce for the common wealth.

However :

1. — The antagonisms cannot entirely disappear as long as the ownership of all the means of production and exchange remain in the hands of a class, of which, the expropriation to the benefit of the collectivity is the aim and the means of Socialism.

2. — The lowering of the cost of necessities of life, if generalized by the cooperative organizations, would have for effect a tendency to reduce the cost of living and therefore create a stagnation or depreciation of wages.

Therefore, the International Congress states :

1. — That the Socialist Party may and ought to encourage the cooperative movement, originated by the working class outside of the party, and which could not without inconvenients be assimilates by it, but the party must warn the workers against the utopian illusion which would make them believe the possibility of their class emancipation through the indefinite extension of the cooperative form applied to consumption, or, as far as possible, to production.

2. — The socialists should join the workers' cooperatives in order to meet the men of their class and be thus grouped for the first time by their interests.

3. — The socialists should make the workers understand that cooperation alone is not the only salvation for the proletariat, and that the only way out is in the political action of the proletariat getting hold of the power to take over collectively the means of production and exchange.

4. — The socialists should endeavor to convince the workers that for their emancipation they need the socialist party, and that their class interest should prompt them to supply to the socialist party the necessary funds and more powerful means of action, and that in fine the cooperative association itself should be used to hasten the time of labor emancipation.

II. — The unemployed question.

Congress states that enforced idleness is inseparable of the capitalist mode of production and is caused by the development of capitalism, the industrialization of the woman and child, as well as by the fluctuations brought about by the immigration of workers and that it shall only disappear with the passing away of the capitalist system.

This Congress however believes that it behooves the working class, in order to increase its force of resistance and of struggle, to endeavour to palliate and lessen the effects of this scourge. This action must exert itself through the workers international action.

With this in view, the Party has asked and will keep on asking for investigation committees led by the syndical organizations, or, like in Germany, by the syndical organizations and the public administrations working together with a view to gather statistics determining the vastness of the evil, its forms and causes.

With this object in view, the Party must likewise compell the public authorities to proceed with better care to the carrying out of the State, departments and communes public works, as well as the private works depending of them, in order to avoid the crisis which result by a sudden need of workers at a special point of the territory.

It is for this reason also that the Party must unceasingly lead an agitation in favor of lessening the working hours, the bargaining, the piece-work, and against the employer's premiums to overproduction.

It is, in fine, with this object in view that the Party must begin a campaign for the establishment of a vast social insurance, including not only old people, but also all social risks, the most obnoxious and terrible of which is enforced idleness.

III. — International arbitration and disarmament.

MAJORITY'S REPORT.

Affirming once more that war shall only end with the capitalist regime, this congress states that the workers' international constitutes, meanwhile, the best league for peace preservation.

This league has already led for the purpose of preserving peace an active campaign which will increase and thus will be able to execute more firmly and closely the resolutions of the national and international congresses and especially of the Stuttgart congress, relative to the case of threatened armed conflicts between nations.

But it is exactly because the workers' international is the best league for the preservation of peace, that it will not lese interest in the attempts made outside of the party to guarantee the world's peace.

Although not illusioned on the extent of the results which in that way have been so far acquired, but convinced that the total sum of progress is made up of daily progress unceasingly realized, the workers' International is decided to act in such a way as to compel the governments to take seriously the always increasing attempts to settle amicably the conflicts between nations.

It will also see that a generalized application and good working of the arbitration courts already established by the bourgeois governments under the always increasing pressure of the socialist ideal, is obtained.

The party will also act in order to favor in each country the development of education based on peace, which will be taught to the children and youth, so as to prepare the coming generations not to be poisoned by military and jingo prejudices, and be ready to

embrace, in a common sympathy, all the members of the great human family.

With this same spirit, the Party will use all its efforts to bring about the simultaneous disarmament of the nations and the substitution of the permanent armies — instruments of invasion and conquest — by national militia, which are only defensive forces.

MINORITY'S REPORT.

Whereas the pacific education carried on through books, lectures drawings, etc., is an excellent means of propaganda, but insufficient to obtain the general disarmament demanded by all socialists.

Whereas the question of arbitration cannot be solved by the Hague court, which is only a comedy imagined by the bourgeoisie trying once more to deceive the proletariat.

This congress states that it takes no interest in the legislative measures, always powerless, and trusts only the workers' revolutionary action to prevent any international conflict.

IV. — International results of labor legislation.

I

This Congress requests the Secretary of the parliamentary group to add to the present motion a brief expose of the present state of labor legislation in France. This expose must show what has already been done and which are the bills proposed by the parliamentary group of the party. It will also be within its province to tell how badly the laws are enforced in this country due partly to a jurisprudence of class, to the insufficiency of labor inspection and also to the numerous derogations allowed by the government.

II

Owing to the present state of international legislation and its results, this Congress states that the socialist party recognizes the necessity of national and international labor legislation. It affirms besides that whatever may be the results of this legislation, the farmers and workers' misery shall only be absolutely eliminated and labor entirely emancipated by the coming of the socialist society, brought about by the political and economical expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

One of the main hindrances for reform that the socialist party finds in the present state of the capitalist society is the system of armed peace, which demands unceasingly new armaments and absorbs the greater part of the nations' budgets. It is therefore an imperative necessity for all those who favor labor legislation to refuse in every nation, at the same time, to vote the military budgets, and also to oppose every new demand of the bourgeois governments for increase of the budget of destruction and death to the prejudice of the budget of reforms and life.

Labor legislation will only have its maximum of efficacy when it becomes international. In this way the argument of international competition will lose its value. With this in view, the Party will use all its efforts to increase the international conventions on labor legislation.

On the other hand the Socialist Party cannot accept motions having a tendency to establish differences between foreign and national workers. It demands from all Parliaments a law prohibiting the aggravation of the conditions under which foreign workers are exploited.

The Socialist Party, in fine, affirms that the industrial trade and agricultural workers shall only at the maximum of labor legislation through the maximum of organization on political and economical grounds.

III

This Congress expresses the wish that the international bureau publish yearly, besides the regular bulletin, a pamphlet including all labor legislation voted in the various parliaments and the various labor bills proposed during the year. The amount of printed pamphlets should be big enough to allow the secretary of each respective country to send at least a copy of this pamphlet to every federation.

The international secretary should insist in getting from the various secretaries of the parliamentary groups communication of the documents which will facilitate as much as possible the unification of labor legislation.

This congress likewise expresses the wish that during the international congresses and offender if necessary, the International Bureau organise conferences of parliamentary men, jurists and representative of workers' organizations to examine all together the most important and urgent points of labor legislation, the execution of which interests the proletariat of all countries.

V. — International protest against dealt penalty.

The question of protest against death penalty has been entered in the order of the day of the International Congress, upon the request of the Polish comrades. Their report and conclusion have not as yet reached us. But the have been expounded to us by comrade Huysmans. We can in advance adhere to them, independently of the context, for they have in view an action against death penalty either for political or common right reasons.

Its first step would be to lay before the Parliament of each respective country (as it has just once more

been done by the socialist group at the French Chamber of deputies) of a motion for a bill for the suppression of death penalty. To second the success of this motion, when debating time comes, the socialist party should organize a popular agitation, meetings, etc.

As this resolution is of a limited character from a criminal point of view, from its repression and especially its prevention, the committee asks you to propose the inscription of this question on the order of the day of the International Congress which will follow the Copenhagen Congress.

(Comrade Vaillant's motion is accepted by the French section).

VI. — Quick execution of the international congresses résolutions.

Whenever there is a menace of conflict between two or more countries, if the respective national parties, duly advised, hesitate or delay in taking a decision, the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, upon the request of at least one of the interested proletariats, will urgently call to meeting the International Socialist Bureau and the interparliamentary socialist commission, which will immediately meet either at Brussels or at any other point which, according to circumstances, would be found more suitable.

VII. — Organization of international solidarity.

The French section adopts in toto the motion that comrade Branting made in behalf of Sweden soon after the Swedish strike, and which was mostly prompted by the unsatisfactory help, especially from

France, Sweden received during the strike. Every time that a great economic conflict will loom up anywhere in the world, the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, will get in touch with the International Syndical Bureau at Brussels, in order that the syndicates, the socialist party and press be informed and that the parties of each respective country make the necessary effort for the national realisation of the international measures thus adopted.

(Comrade Vaillant's oral report.)